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Attention *[Signature]*
 Keep this study together.

February 26, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
 THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letters from Dr. Ernst Rodin

As Mr. Moose requested on February 21, we have prepared a comment and suggested reply to the letters of Dr. Ernst Rodin dated February 18 to the President and to you enclosing a copy of the fourth chapter of his forthcoming book entitled Quo Vadis Homo Sapiens.

The two letters and the underlined sections of the enclosed chapter place greatest emphasis on the desirability of a freeze on ABM deployment until the President has had an opportunity to evaluate the pros and cons. The chapter touches on a wide variety of topics such as views concerning Hitler, psychological and personal factors in international relationships, Ho Chi Minh, the treatment of Viet-Nam by the American press, and lunar expeditions. As regards the ABM, he raises the question in his letter, "Could there be a group of Krupps in this country who stand to make a considerable amount of money under the guise of protecting it?"

A suggested reply from Mr. Kissinger is attached.

[Signature]
 John P. Walsh

Acting Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Suggested reply.
2. Letters from Dr. Rodin dated February 18.

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 A True Copy

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EUR - Mr. Springsteen
 J/PM - Mr. Shaw
 EUR/RPM - Mr. McGuire

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Suggested Reply

Dear Dr. Rodin:

Thank you for your letters to the President and to me of February 18 enclosing a copy of the fourth chapter of your forthcoming book entitled Quo Vadis Homo Sapiens.

You refer to the desirability of putting a temporary freeze on the ABM project until there has been adequate opportunity to evaluate all the potential implications.

I can assure you that the implications of the ABM program are under the most careful consideration at the present time. Factors under consideration include technological, military, strategic and political aspects of this complex question.

Thank you for letting me have an advance copy of your chapter relating to this and other aspects of problems currently under consideration.

Sincerely,

Ernst A. Rodin, M.D.,
Lafayette Clinic,
951 E. Lafayette St.,
Detroit, Michigan.
48207

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Clearance:
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J/PM - Mr. Shaw

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STATE OF MICHIGAN

GEORGE BROWN HALL
William G. Milliken, Governor
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HEALTH

LAFAYETTE CLINIC
951 E. LAFAYETTE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48207

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, M. D., Director

February 18, 1969

The President of The United States
The Honourable Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

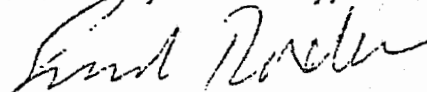
Enclosed is a copy of the fourth chapter of my forthcoming book entitled "Quo Vadis Homo Sapiens". Due to inevitable delays it will probably take about a year until it becomes available in print. Inasmuch as you are confronted with major decisions at the present moment, time is of the essence and I am therefore forwarding this part of the manuscript to you in spite of the fact that it still has some rough edges which have to be ironed out editorially. I have underlined those aspects that seem most urgent at this moment.

The chapter was written during Christmas vacation and I was subsequently delighted to see that you have already set in motion a number of the principles that were mentioned. Nevertheless I would suggest for your consideration to continue putting a temporary freeze on the ABM project until you have had adequate opportunity to evaluate all the potential implications. This would buy you the time you need and if you feel after a few months that the system can be abandoned for a different method you may have saved the money which is needed to put this country on its feet again. Inasmuch as you may want to discuss some of the contents of this chapter with Mr. Kissinger I am taking the liberty of sending a copy to him likewise.

The chapter is quite short and you might want to read it on the plane to Europe. In the hope that this letter may buy you eight years of administration rather than four,

With best wishes for success,

Yours very sincerely, 1



Ernst A. Rodin, M. D.
Chief of Neurology and
Electroencephalography



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GEORGE ROMNEY, Governor

William G. Milliken, Governor
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HEALTHLAFAYETTE CLINIC
951 E. LAFAYETTE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48207

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, M. D., Director

February 18, 1969

Mr. Henry Kissinger
Special Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kissinger:

Enclosed is a chapter of my forthcoming book entitled "Quo Vadis Homo Sapiens". The book deals with the problem why man behaves the way he does but this particular chapter is the one which is most time bound. Inasmuch as the President will have to make decisions within the next few months that will affect his entire term of office I felt that I should pass this particular chapter on to him. I have taken the liberty to underline the passages that are the most critical at this time. Obviously I don't know whether or not the letter will reach him but there is a reasonable chance that this one will reach you and you may want to discuss the contents with the President at your convenience.

The single most urgent problem seems to be the ABM system and I have suggested to the President that it may be advisable to put a freeze on the project until he has had adequate opportunity to evaluate the pros and cons. From the citizen's point of view there seem to be a great many more cons than pros. The question arises therefore who is the person or the persons who really want the system and what are the real rather than the professed reasons. Could there be a group of Krupp's in this country who stand to make a considerable amount of money under the guise of "protecting" it.

I hope that you don't mind reading this letter and this small chapter.

With best wishes for an exceedingly difficult job that lies ahead in the next few years.

Yours very sincerely,

Ernst A. Rodin, M. D.
Chief of Neurology and
Electroencephalography



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Whatever else we do the first order of business is that we have to buy ourselves time. We must realize that most ~~of the~~ ~~which~~ ~~are~~ ~~subsequently~~ ~~shown~~ to have disastrous consequences are due to the fact that we either acted impulsively or in the attempt to meet a self imposed deadline. It is not too widely known that the second world war started at the time it did because of a deadline Hitler had set for himself. He wanted to get the war over with while he still felt himself in the prime of manhood. The year 1939 was no accident it was planned. He might have postponed his plans which basically called for the annihilation of Poland and Russia, with everything else just being expedients or necessary complications, for a year or two but he was quite unwilling to delay the start of the process until much after his age of 50 years. Let us listen to what the man himself had to say on this matter: *(page 140)" ... it's not enough to be inclined to optimism one must have a certain youthfulness into the bargain. It's lucky that I went into politics at thirty, became Chancellor at forty-three and am only fifty-two today* (night of 3-4 January 1942). One is born an optimist just as one is born a pessimist. With age optimism gets weaker, the spring relaxes. When I suffered my setback in 1923, I had only one idea, to get back into the saddle. Today I'd no longer be capable of the effort which that implies. The awareness that one is no longer capable of that has something demoralizing about it. I believe blindly in my nation. If I lost that belief, we'd have nothing left to do but shut up shop". These very personal considerations and ideas are the real factors behind the unfolding of history and not just the perennial social ills.

*Hitler's Secret Conversations

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The buying of time has now become the essence of our survival. We are being told, that a missile leaving the launch pad in Russia can reach us within 15, 20 or maximally thirty minutes. How is it possible to reach any kind of rational decision that involves the future of all mankind from here on out, within that period of time? Regardless whether you are the President of the United States or John Q. Public there is no mortal who can act rationally under these circumstances. The reactions are going to be on a purely emotional basis. Not knowing what to do, those in authority will do what they have always done, they will fall back on preexisting plans and let the military machinery take over. The technology which we have created will then inexorably grind us into oblivion. There are again any number of historical precedents for this. It is most illuminating to read Barbara Tuchman's* account of what went on in Berlin on August 1, 1914. The Kaiser had developed fears and trepidations about a war on two fronts and grasped at straws to avoid a showdown with France and Russia simultaneously. When there was a chance (due to a mistaken notion as it turned out later) that France might be enticed to stay neutral he felt that he could march the whole German Army towards the East. This left Moltke, his Chief of Staff, who had for years planned on marching the troops to the West absolutely aghast and he stated: "Your majesty, it can not be done. The deployment of millions can not be improvised ...". As it turned out he was wrong because there had been plans how to ship the Army to the East but that is not important in this context. The essential feature is that the man in charge wanted to be aware of one plan only and that was the direction to follow. Another instance of how a complete triviality affects world history is recorded by Ryan in his book, The Last Battle. The fact that northern Germany was

occupied by the British - with the resultant loss of Berlin - and the U.S. ending up in the central and southern portions of Germany was influenced by an incredibly minor detail namely the location of the British and American bases and depots in England. To quote from Ryan's book: (page 144 through second paragraph of 145) "As for the British and American zones, their north-south relationship seemed to Morgan to have been predetermined by one seemingly ridiculous but relevant fact: the location of the British and American bases and depots back in England. From the time the first American troops arrived in the United Kingdom they had been quartered first in Northern Ireland and later in the south and southwest of England. British forces were situated in the north and south-east. Thus the concentration of troops, their supplies and communications were separate - the Americans always on the right, the British on the left facing the continent of Europe. As Morgan foresaw Overlord, this design was to continue across the Channel to the invasion beaches of Normandy - and, presumably, through Europe to the heart of Germany itself. The British were to enter northern Germany and liberate Holland, Denmark and Norway. On the right, the Americans, following their line of advance through France, Belgium and Luxembourg, would end up in the southern German provinces.

"I do not believe," Morgan said later, "that anyone at the time could have realized the full and ultimate implications of the quartering decision - which in all probability was made by some minor official in the War Office. But from it flowed all the rest."

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heavens sakes please keep looking at all of our contingency plans at all times, re-evaluate them constantly and ~~see whether they are really doing~~ what they are supposed to accomplish and furthermore what are the implications going to be if we indeed go through with the plans as they stand.

The assumption that rockets can be effectively destroyed while they are still about a hundred miles off target and which is the basis for the presently proposed defensive missile system is open to serious doubt. It obviously needs only one rocket to get through the system to do the complete job for a given city. It is quite doubtful that the military can indeed guarantee that, if 20 or so targets in the U.S. are being attacked simultaneously by 20 rockets for each target making a total of 400 targets and bombs that not a single one of them will reach its goal. The military will argue that they are only concerned about decreasing and limiting the total number of casualties. The civilian has to say that there is no need to have any casualties whatsoever.

Erecting defensive missile systems around a few cities will involve a huge financial outlay. They are likely to be obsolete by the time they are operational because our technology does not stand still by decree and these systems will not buy us time. The entire project plays on our fears and on the perpetuation of fear without really being able to demonstrate that it will produce the desired result. Before Congress spends any more of our money on ventures of this sort it should continue to take a good hard look at what the system is realistically able to accomplish and who is really for it and for what reason.

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If we go ahead with the system as presently planned the results will be clearly predictable. ~~The Russians and Chinese will first of all build more rockets, so that some can get through. Inasmuch as they trust us as little as we do them they will start similar projects of antissile systems because we leave them no choice. If our military were to argue, that the Russians and the Chinese have already started on building such a system we are merely following in their footsteps, that would be the banal statement yet. Inasmuch as we have declared that unless somebody sends us theirs we will not send ours we can rejoice that the other side is literally pouring money down the drain for something that will never, ever be used. If they want to ruin their economies by all means let them do it but don't expect us as the leaders of the "free world" the same foolishness. The Russians and probably even the Chinese are more interested in living than dying so they will therefore to continue to sit down together and work out a system that will mutually reduce rather than increase fears. Obviously this is a goal but once we make this an officially announced goal, we may begin to make some headway.~~

The mere existence of the bomb has placed us into very peculiar circumstances. We keep buying ourselves more bombs, but we also say we will not use them. If somebody like a recent Vice-Presidential candidate or a distinguished military officer drills our bluff and says he might be a weapons order or take circumstances he is being shouted down as a warmonger. This is obviously the most senseless predicament the President has managed to maneuver himself into. As President Johnson says, "I don't want the power of the Presidency: the only power I've got is nuclear and that's

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planners give top priority to the solution of this problem.

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'Obviously it always takes two to make peace, but the first thing to realize is, that the other side is at least equally and probably even more afraid of us than we are of them. Let us realize also that everything we do in any corner of the globe with best intentions will always be regarded by our so called enemies as a threat to their national security. We will have to be patient and explain to them over and over again, that if they leave us alone we will do likewise. If they flagrantly break the peace some place that disturbs the status quo we will promptly and effectively retaliate with a quick and efficient slap on the hand at some place where they have some but not necessarily vital interests. The quick and effective retaliation is important otherwise word gets around that the U.S. is really a paper tiger as the Chinese are fond of explaining to their people. These prompt and effective measures do not need nuclear weaponry, the run of the mill armaments are quite sufficient. As quid pro quo we ourselves would of course have to abstain from acts that would give rise to fear or anger on the other side. It can not possibly be overemphasized that we have to ask ourselves at all times whether a given project that we are about to undertake will increase or decrease the fears that exist on the other side. If the answer is that it will probably increase their fears then let us postpone it and do something else instead. This is not the time to make anybody more nervous beyond the level that already exists.

What must become abundantly clear to everyone whose authority is, that there is only one real danger in this world and that is the human being himself.

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Not to recognize this fact is the most serious mistake of our time. We are passing laws to make cars safer. It is not the car that kills, it is the person behind the wheel. We are passing laws to control guns. It is not the gun that kills it is the person who pulls the trigger. Find the causes of human behavior and you will save lives and this world.

The point to be made is, that we should stop trying to look for some mysterious force that propels nations or ideas. We should merely keep asking ourselves when confronted with a given situation who is the person that is going to be most affected by the decision that I am making and what would I do if I were in his shoes. Contrary to popular thought we are not dealing with nations, we are always dealing with people. Nations, or causes, or ideologies are abstractions which we use as excuses. What matters are the people who run the show. By treating them as individuals rather than avowed enemies we can find out what they really want. This differs automatically from what they say they want and furthermore we can find out what they really expect to get and not what they say in public they will get. This process of finding out is obviously difficult and time consuming but absolutely necessary for genuine results.

Formal negotiations as customary, with strict protocol are good for show and to delude or pacify the public on both sides. The only effective way of getting results would be a genuine human interchange. Both negotiating teams would have to live in the same hotel, get together at the bar over a few drinks regularly but unscheduled, go out together for fishing, riding, sailing or whatever else they enjoy. In this way they would really get to know each other

and the official business talks would become more meaningful. unknown, the moment we do get to know each other we find out that most of the time the fears were quite unreasonable. This system of international negotiations suggested here has proven most successful in the business world and is bound to work in most instances of international or local conflict.

It may sound hypocritical to suggest that negotiators should have a good time together, enjoying each others company, while the young men on both sides are forced to kill each other on the battlefield. As a matter of fact it is not. I as a soldier in the field would willingly agree that the powers do anything they want if this is indeed the shortest way to get me out of a situation where I don't want to be in, in the first place. If haughty disdain prolongs the war and chummy enjoyment shortens it there can be no question about who is hypocritical. The negotiators being people would soon acquire a fair amount of personal guilt towards their fighting troops and would go ahead with the job at hand. Each negotiating team having a reasonably good time in the evening and on weekends or in between negotiation sessions by themselves, as is being done now anyway, creates unilateral guilt only which is readily displaced by each side onto the other. The key lies in mutual enjoyment.

This system should work unless one is confronted with genuine mental illness, or the negotiations are carried out by people without authority. Let us take mental illness first. You can take hikes around the mountains or eat vegetables with a Hitler as long as you like, but you will not get anywhere nearer to the solution of your problem. He knows what he wants and he will get it regardless of what you want, unless he is effectively removed from circulation. It becomes

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mentally ill. This person is of course nowadays the greatest single threat to the world. The bomb is not the problem; it is the fellow who gives the order to send it on its way. From all the mental illnesses that abound there is really only one that is the most important in this context. In order to reach the top and be in a commanding position you have to be of at least better than average intelligence. This automatically eliminates all the conditions that are associated with mental deficiency. You have to be at least forty years or older to have reached a top government position. This eliminates the most serious mental illness namely the group of schizophrenias as well as what might be called constitutional psychopathy. The schizophrenic process tends to start in adolescence or the early twenties, is in full bloom by the time the individual is thirty and the person is recognizable as mentally ill by everybody. The constitutional psychopath will likewise have committed enough acts of aggression in his twenties and thirties that he will either be in jail or a mental institution. Even if he is free in the community his prison and mental health record will prevent him from reaching command positions. In order to be on the top the person must have functioned efficiently up to the age of forty and a serious neurosis would also have interfered much earlier.

Persons in power may reach their positions either during their forties, fifties or sometimes sixties. Of these, the person in his forties is the potentially most dangerous. He is young enough to have nearly all of the internal drive of youth, he is exceedingly able or else he couldn't have reached the top at that age and he is impatient. The mental illness that occurs most

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is some disagreement among professional circles whether or not to group it within the schizophrenic psychoses but this is not too relevant for the topic at hand. To recognize a person as being paranoid is vital because you can not deal with him on a rational basis. He operates on internal laws that are wholly different from yours. The hallmarks of the paranoid state are: good or superior intelligence, "normal" behavior in all other respects except for that area where his delusional system lies. He usually feels that isolated people or groups of people are against him and he handles himself accordingly. These feelings of persecution which are unshakeable may not be the first symptom, they can come quite late and one should not wait for them to become blatant. The first indication is that the individual has all the answers and is convinced that his answers are the only ones that are true. He has discovered absolute, unalterable, unshakeable truth. He is right and everybody else is therefore automatically wrong. As long as people agree with his "truth" he has no problem, when someone disagrees that person becomes an enemy and the persecution complex is set in motion.

We have to remind ourselves however once more, that there can be quite a difference between what a person says in public, what he really believes and what he does. Not every two bit dictator who whips up the emotions of his populace is paranoid. The simplest way of recognizing the paranoid individual is not by looking at what he says but by what he does. How does he get enjoyment out of life? If he has never been married, does not have a mistress or even a homosexual relationship, is abstinent of alcohol, nicotine and other intoxicants, has voluntarily given up his previous secret vices for the cause, does not engage in any kind of sport and devotes all his energies

then you have a paranoid individual. The Hitler phenomenon may have been a blessing after all, because the pattern is now recognizable. It takes little imagination what would happen if a new Hitler would be placed in charge of Russia, China or the U.S. The main point to remember is, that the person appears to be perfectly rational in all other respects and being of high intelligence he can make exceedingly persuasive arguments for his point of view so that the diagnosis can readily be missed by the average citizen.

Although Nikita Krushchev was the bogey man for a while in this country he was in a completely different class from Hitler or Stalin. He was a genuine warm human being who enjoyed life and who had faith in the world and his country. I am not saying this on basis of what happened during the Cuban missile crisis but on his conduct soon after taking over the reins of the Soviet Union. After he had made the decision to attend a meeting of the United Nations in New York he took a most unique step for our era. He came from Russia by ship. This gives us a very important insight into the character of the man. It shows that he probably enjoys a boat ride and that he has complete faith in his countrymen. He had no great suspicions, that they would take his job away from him while he is gone and he felt that he could take his time mixing business with a little pleasure. Any decent dedicated bureaucrat would surely have taken a jet the night before the general assembly meeting, would have given his talk and left again while the audience was still politely clapping. He would have boarded his jet again and been back behind his desk the next morning. The full blown para-

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the world come to him. Krushchev obviously had different ideas. He wanted to get to know the U.N. as well as the U.S. He sat through a number of sessions and sometimes he felt he had to attract some attention even if it meant taking off one's shoe and banging on the desk with it. This is all in the realm of good clean fun. He achieved his aim, he did get to know this country. The fact that he was not allowed to see Disneyland was probably quite a disappointment for him. That the world was spared nuclear war over the misbegotten Cuban missiles was probably a direct result of Krushchev having been here in person and also of having had the opportunity to get to know President Kennedy in Vienna.

The world owes a great debt to Nikita Krushchev and I only wish that some person in authority in this country would do an elderly couple of private citizens of the Soviet Union a good turn. We might invite Nina and Nikita back to this country give them a guided tour to places they would like to see, including Cape Kennedy and our research installations, let them relax in the Florida sunshine for a few days, then take them over to the West Coast and let them see Disneyland if they still want to. These two people have really earned a treat and I hope that their government would have no objections to this totally unpolitical vacation proposal. We know that his political life is over, so let the man enjoy his old age but we must remember that for him in a very personal sense time is running out and it may already be too late.

As a native of Austria I personally owe Mr. Krushchev an additional debt of gratitude. It was during his term of office that Austria was restored as an

to forget that Austria had shared the fate of Germany after the second world war. The country was divided into four occupation zones with Vienna located deep within Russian territory. No provisions existed that guaranteed the Allies free access to their troops in the city which was occupied just as Berlin by all four powers. Similar to what happened in Germany, the Western sectors of Austria could have combined to form Western Austria with the capital possibly at Salzburg and the Russian occupied sector could have become East Austria with the capital at Baden, Wiener Neustadt or some other place. Vienna would have continued to share the precarious fate of Berlin. What happened to change the course of history? ⁷⁷ The single most important event was of course the death of Stalin. Meaningful negotiations were not possible with a person of this type one just had to bide one's time and wait, trying in the meantime not to rock the boat and prevent further deterioration. After Stalin's death and the brief Malenkov interlude the Austrians felt, that the time was right to make their move. It was known that the Western Allies had no territorial ambitions and would withdraw as soon as the Russians left. The problem resolved itself therefore to the question how do you make the Russians pack up and go home? Recognizing this there was no sense wasting one's time in Washington, London or Paris, you have to go where the power of decision lies and that is in Moscow. The Austrian government therefore swallowed its pride and went on a pilgrimage to the Kremlin, bringing along not only their briefcases but also that what is known throughout the world as the spirit of Vienna. Wining and dining with the Russians they got their agreement. There was a beautiful cartoon in one of the Vienna papers showing the top Austrian government officials as members of a Schrammel

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quarter playing for the next movement
ear of the other in inimitable Viennese dialect: "now let's play 'em the Reblaus* and we've really got 'em where we want 'em". I am not certain that this is what did happen in Moscow, but whatever went on the Austrians made enough of an impact to convince the Russians that it was safe from the Russian point of view to allow neutralization of the country. Freedom was bought at considerable financial expense but as we say in this country: so what, that's only money. Austria had of course a special advantage over Germany, being small and posing no significant military threat. It is doubtful that the Germans could have achieved the same result because the Russians are genuinely and for good historical reasons afraid of them. Nevertheless some improvement in relationships based on recognition of existing realities would even now be possible.

Let me emphasize again that the fate of the world hangs on people and not on equipment. It is therefore reasonable to assume, that the more we learn about our opposite numbers the better we are going to be off. Inasmuch as mental illness is not always readily recognizable by the layman, it may well be advisable to include in our negotiating teams physicians trained in the study of human behavior. It is obvious that these people will not conduct formal psychiatric interviews but these are quite unnecessary anyway because the trained individual can get most of his information through completely informal meetings.

While leaders in their middle forties pose one type of threat those that reach the top in their late fifties, or sixties can inflict upon the world equally serious difficulties for a different reason. Age does not only bring wisdom and experience,

*Well known Viennese heurigen song.

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it is also accompanied by a constant and inexorable loss of nerve cells of the brain. The person we elect to office today on basis of his past achievement

may no longer be the person he was when he made his significant contributions that propelled him into prominence. Roosevelt would probably never have signed the disastrous Yalta agreement which still plagues us, had he not already suffered from rather severe damage to his brain. Fortunately the lawmakers of this country have seen fit to limit the president to a maximum of 8 years in office - although it could be stretched by accident into a maximum of twelve if he acceded to the presidency by virtue of having been vice-president and the elected president died during his first year in office. There are still a great many things that can happen to a person's brain let us say between the age of 65 and 73. You must not teach students at a university after you reach the age of 65, but you can run the country and the world until you drop dead. We have to emphasize again, that the deficits which occur as a result of senile or pre-senile brain disease are not so massive that they have to show themselves to the casual observer, and the illness can go on for any number of years without being recognized. One of the first symptoms are some loss of memory and poor judgment in regard to complicated matters. In order to survive we are going to need the very best judgment possible, we simply can't afford to take chances anymore. The elderly politician who gets re-elected on basis of his past record is therefore a potentially very dangerous individual.

In dealing with our opponents we should always keep in mind which age bracket the person falls into. If he is in his forties and fifties and we find that we can not reason with him, that we are talking to a blank wall, we should ask ourselves whether or not the individual shows the paranoid trait. If we establish that he is paranoid, we have to bypass him and work with other high placed government

already prepare for the future power struggle that will ensue after the dictator is gone and we can quietly support that faction that shows promise to be most liberal in its dealings with its own people.

If the leader on the opposite side is in his sixties or older we should ask ourselves whether he is showing lapses of judgment. If he does and we have no way of removing him from power we should wait. We have nothing to gain and a great deal to lose. Nature is on our side, he will die and we can then work with his successor.

We now have to discuss the relatively common practice namely of carrying out negotiations by people who are not empowered to make decisions. This is of course useful up to a point but can very easily deteriorate into mere haggling over trivia. The Vietnam discussions are of course the obvious example. There is only one person in the world who could end the war tomorrow if he so wanted and that is Ho Chi Minh. To negotiate with anybody else can not lead to a permanent solution. Ho knows what he wants, he makes no bones about it and has most recently quite clearly spelled it out again in his New Year's poem: re-unification of the country under his rule. This is what the war is all about. If we are ready to do now what we were unwilling to do several years earlier, namely give him the country he will have achieved his purpose. If we want to continue with two separate Vietnams as they exist, we would have to show to him that if he continues to send his troops into the South we will give him serious trouble in the North. If we want to re-unify the country under some Saigon or even possibly Hue regime we could theoretically invade the North but this is probably politically unacceptable on account of the predictable world wide repercussion. For that reason the alternative is to wait him out: Good old Ho, the father of his country, is no longer in his teens.

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When I was talking earlier about giving him trouble, it does not necessarily mean bombing of the civilian population with the assumption that this will bring the country to it's knees and they will lose the will to fight back. All the examples show that whenever this was tried in the past it produced the opposite result. People will merely hate more intensively. There are obviously other methods of effectively interfering with a given country's war making capacities. If Ho's economy starts seriously losing money he will quit, or somebody else will do the quitting for him.

Whatever else he may be, he is no fool and his best allies at the present time are not Russia or China but the U.S. news media. From his point of view, he is winning the war because as a result of the pressure that the press has built up in this country a majority of our population would be willing to pull out of Vietnam under the flimsiest pretext. Our national planners will have to be clear in their own minds which of the three possibilities that were mentioned earlier they want to accomplish, explain to the country and the world why they are doing what they are doing and then go ahead and do the job.

To state that the U.S. news media are Hanoi's best ally may sound like a harsh accusation but the power of the propaganda that is brought into the homes of the American public through TV and the daily papers can not possibly be overestimated. The press can make and break presidential candidates. Governor Romney was never allowed to forget that he had in an off the cuff remark mentioned that he was "brainwashed" about the Vietnam situation. The press has also already partially succeeded to make our Vice-president look like a boob who has to be muzzled by his boss. We must not forget that the U.S. press is

read not only in this country, but

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America's image abroad. What it says is just as important as what it deliberately fails to mention. It plays on the emotions rather than appealing to reason. Let us not forget for a moment what its main purpose is: to sell newspapers. In order to sell the story has to be "juicy". While these comments dealt with the written word one can also observe on TV the power of the men who are "making the news".

As an example one can refer to the program Face the Nation. It is remarkable to see how astute American newsmen are in getting their story out of the person to be interviewed. It is unbelievable how words are given slight twists to convey a message that is quite different from what the interviewed individual has actually said or intended to say. At times words are being put into the guest's mouth by the reporter that the individual had not meant at all. The entire process is not really an interview where the guest is given an opportunity to explain his views and why he stands for what he stands, it reminds one much rather of a person sitting on the witness stand and being badgered by three or four different attorneys. The fact that the interviewed has only partial command of the English language in a number of instances is an additional handicap of no small proportions. One might well argue: oh well, it just an interview. It is not; because the press will subsequently carry what it regards as the salient portions, namely those that appeal to the emotions, and broadcast them far and wide.

The American politician knows of course what is going on and handles himself in most instances accordingly. It is the foreign guest who is really being exploited and this is not particularly conducive to international friendship.

Having decided to enter into serious negotiations knowing fully well what concessions if any we are willing to make and what their consequences are in all likelihood going to be, the aspect that has to be guarded against at all cost is letting ourselves be stampeded by the press which insists on immediate results.

If a principle was worth fighting for five years ago it should still be so now. If it was a mistaken idea in the first place then let us come out and say so. We must however say in addition why we were wrong and why we will under no circumstances repeat this mistake over again. If the other side of the negotiating team has time and we are unwilling to spend ours, we have already lost and any number of euphemisms in which we may couch our loss to pacify the public will not change the situation. We must have at least as much time as the other party and everybody concerned must understand this quite clearly. Americans are go getters and they get results when they put their minds to it, but this very virtue can become a disaster if it turns into mere impatience. These comments obviously reflect on current political problems and may be obsolete in their specific context by the time they reach the public. But it is only the specifics that keep changing, the general pattern is likely to repeat itself for any number of times and this is why these words are being written.

The conclusion that human behavior and the derangements of the mind are the most important determinants of the fate of mankind, dictates the next steps. The study of brain-behavior relationships will have to be given a much higher priority than it has commanded so far. This will have to be done not only in order to avoid mass suicide of the human race but also in order to enhance the usefulness of the individual citizen. We are proud of the steadily increasing

life span, but life alone is not enough, just

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in not enough. Life should be enjoyed with full mental competence as long as at all possible. The factors that cause aging of the brain are the ones that deserve the most intensive scrutiny. We can replace practically everything else nowadays or within a few years from now but on our brains we are totally and irrevocably dependent. This organ has to be studied in greatest possible detail because the brain is what truly runs us. It might well be worthwhile by those in authority to consider the establishment of a special institute devoted exclusively to the study of the aging process of the brain. This could be staffed by workers in various disciplines who as a result of their own increasing chronological age have a very natural and personal interest in the matter and would therefore be dedicated to the most speedy solution of the problem. In medical research you can not set deadlines for accomplishing a certain goal. What we can do is putting those people to work in those areas where their greatest interest lies for very personal reasons.

Mankind has proven that it can achieve most anything once it really makes up its mind to do so. The processes are simple but time consuming. First comes the idea, then the wish, then the blueprint, then the bricks or equipment and finally the result. So let us formulate our ideas, make decisions and carry them out. The importance of the lunar mission can not possibly be over emphasized in this context. It shows what a country can do in less than ten years if it really wants to. The moon is no longer pie in the sky we have been around it and we are going to land on it. Although the complexity of the enterprise still staggers the imagination, from now on it's just a matter of money. The basic problems are solved. To accomplish this feat it needed

of course considerable financial outlay but in addition it required the positive use of a deadline. The placing of the deadline by President Kennedy and announcing it before the entire world was an absolutely necessary step. It committed the nation and its elected representatives to the continued financial burden and ensured that funds would not suddenly be withdrawn; thereby wasting any number of years of effort. Last but not least we have to give thanks for the feat to our friends, the Russians. Had they not orbited their Sputnik when they did, the American public could not have cared less about outer space. The average person including the average lawmaker still can't comprehend why we have to "spend money on the moon" when we could use it here to build bombs, antimissile systems or possibly even schools. Were it not for the Russians and the fear that they might establish a base on the moon from which they would do bad things to us, the country would not be interested. Apart from fear we have to consider of course also national pride. For Americans to be number two in space is really intolerable.

It is safe to predict that space exploration will continue unless stopped by nuclear war. What we don't know is the momentum which it will be allowed to acquire on account of financial considerations. Those of us who are space enthusiasts will have to bank on the Russians that they get their equipment going to perfection, so that our general public and financial purse string holders will clamor for greater effort on our part.

The tremendous duality of the human race; its fantastic achievements on the one hand and its most pitiful pathetic paltriness on the other is maybe best

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